

137 /23 cont./

(2,600 meters), is characterized by a vegetation sweeping the ground. Each plant becomes a miniature bush, in order to protect itself better from the cold and the wind. The plants, so to speak, put their backs up against the inclement conditions. They face outward in little clumps of arched and thorny felting.

Such are the principal phytogeographical tiers of the Seksawa country. But such a description, summary as it may be, would be inexact if, recalling our initial considerations, we did not note immediately to what extent the flora of the depths of the valley in fact escapes, both because of a different ecology and because of the contagion of man, a simplistic tiering. Not only is it shaded, complex, and sometimes paradoxical -- notably in the matter of fruit trees --, but further it reflects the conditionings of the altitude only in order also to accentuate its differences from the flora of slopes or summits. Concerning the valley of the Urika, R. Maire has enumerated the ripicolous associations crowded on the banks of the torrents, and which, joining their fixative effect for the gravels of the bed with the incidence of bank cultivations, succeed in certain cases in forming an undergrowth of tamarisks or of poplars. The underbrush shade of the prairies at mowing time: another type of az'mu differing profoundly both in origin and in utilization from the montagnard az'mu.

These influences, properly botanical, and those of the shelter, at each confluence, imi, of a ravine with the principal valley, develop coppices, each having its physiognomy: virgin forest of giant laurels at Imi w-Usstif; virgilian vale of Imi y-Ikis, with its fig trees, its pomegranate trees, its blackberry brambles, and /24/ its gurgling waters. There one finds a small violet flower with a sweet smell, greatly in demand for tea, afert'wkkwel (1).

1. Salvia taraxacifolia. Other plants: Mar-rubium vulgare, Globularia Alypum, Rumex papilio, Satureja Hochreutineri, Catananche coerulea, Arrhenatherum elatius.

592 /36 cont./ There still exist some
 264 houses, big houses, old houses -- for the tradition registers a de-
 [178] cline here -- where the patriarch distributing the grain also pre-
 252 sides over an alimentary communism. Two tables are organized:
 [178] that of the women and that of the men. The cooking is done in
 turn by the spouses in a single place: arich in Mtugga, kech-
china in the plains, anual in the mountains. But the proportion
 of these survivals, or at least considered as such in the plains,
 does not exceed one tenth, or at the very most one fifth.

[178] It is no different among the Seksawa. But there the disper-
 sion of the cooking among foyers, majority mode, normal mode,
 is by no means given as resulting from any evolution whatsoever.

[562] Indeed rather the irascibility of the women, vaunted as a national
 [342] quality, or almost, provides the immediate explanation for a
 mode of life which thus sets a strong contrast against the form of
 the habitat, this igemmi, veritable beehive, where the rooms
 are sometimes agglomerated by tens and even include, in the
 most developed cases, several interior courtyards and several
 loggias. Even when the commensality exists, each one, apart
 in his room, prepares odd foods on a stove. An evolution in
 the alimentary regime is revealed here. It has furnished
 272 for this subsistence complementary to the insipid common pot a
 178 pleasant material: sweetened tea (1).

1. Tea has been, in the rural Moroccan milieus,
 a modern-style extension, if I may venture to say
 it, of this kind of "aqueous food," still /this foot-
 note is continued on the following page in the
 original source/ represented here by all kinds of
 porridges, and in which Varagnac and Maurisio see
 an extremely old culinary stage. P.-E. Bache,
 "Souvenir d'un voyage à Mogador /Remembrance
 of a trip to Mogador/," Revue maritime et coloniale,
 1861, p. 87, attributes the origin of the diffusion of
 tea to Morocco to a gift made to the Sultan by the
 English in 1820. At the time of Bache's visit to
 Mogador (1859), this drink was already very

• 292 /36 cont./
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[56]

/footnote 1 continued/ widespread. P. Chatinières, Dans le Grand Atlas marocain /In the Moroccan Great Atlas/, in 1917, verifies the drinking of tea in Meqfiwa (pp. 81 sq.). G. Lemprière, whose trip took place in 1790-91, Voyage dans l'empire de Maroc et le royaume de Fès /Travel in the empire of Morocco and the kingdom of Fez/, 1801, already notes the tea ceremony, but only among the rich, p. 250.

And there it is not only a /37/ "dessert," just as its generalization, recent on the whole, the utensils that it requires, its city and foreign provenance connect it to an order of things that is not that of the cantonal life, but in certain respects that of reverie, of play, and of escape. It is also a veritable food, which makes bread "disappear" wonderfully and stimulates you beyond its actual value in calories. And although it has become here, as in the rest of Morocco, an auxiliary obligation of all life of society, it is still, to the extent that it is set against the ancestral broth, a sign of individual emancipation.

[454] Savings connected with work in town most often covers the expenses of a treat. But, as has been seen, provisions of grain are also most often individual. If two or even three generations live together in the tigemmi, or sometimes larger ensembles of collaterals, it is not communism, but a very precise co-operative system that animates the rural economy. The flock, it is true, generally remains common. Maintenance of the shepherd is assured by turn. A quite complicated assessment can also be practiced for the maintenance of the hirelings, akheddami, plur. ikheddamen, if there are several. But if the division of funds is rare, at least as long as the father lives with his adult sons, the harvest is integrally divided either at the time of the depositing of the sheaves: this is the system ddu tadla -- or after the threshing and on the threshing floor: this is the system s-trialt,
000 "in the basket." The woman naturally enters among those having